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THE GHOST AT GENEVA

By WILLIAM H. PETERSON

TWO BIG HOLIDAYS in the Communist calendar conveniently occur while the Geneva Conference, starting April 26, will presumably be under way. The propaganda impact of these events on the discussions could have had some influence on the selection of the date for the opening of these sessions. The Commies are clever.

Saturday, May 1, is May Day, historic celebration for socialist victories the world over. Through Moscow's Red Square and before Georgi Malenkov's approving nods will pour massive Russian legions while overhead will thunder Red air might — swift jets and heavy transcontinental bombers. Past the Temple of Heaven in Peking will march part of "the human sea" to be hailed by Mao Tse-tung as the victor over sixteen UN forces in Korea. Anti-Western speeches will reach a crescendo. Outside the iron and bamboo curtains, strong efforts will be made to keep Communist demonstrations from reaching the riot stage. Tokyo police hope to avert the violence that has marked May Day for the past three years. In New York City's Union Square, a battalion of New York's "finest" will see to it that the Communist demonstrators don't go beyond clenched fists and defiant harangues.

Wednesday, May 5, is the 136th anniversary of the birthday of the man who, more than anyone else, has split the world into East and West, the two opposing forces which, despite Kipling's admonition, will meet at Geneva to reconcile the irreconcilable. That man was Karl Marx, "the father of Communism". For it was Marx, along with Friedrich Engels, who authored the insidious buffer force for Communists, the front organization. It was Marx who furnished the intellectual bible for the Communist movement, *Das Kapital.* It was Marx who reached out after death and engineered through his faithful and cunning disciple, Nikolai Lenin, the conquest of Russia in the Bolshevik Revolution.

What kind of man was this Karl Marx, whose ideas still seduce the minds of millions on every continent, luring them Pied Piper-like to what can only be the kind of world catastrophe pictured in George Orwell's 1984?

Young Marx was the iconoclast of his German middle class family. He was emotionally distant, rebellious. He renounced religion. He hated his mother. Obstinate. His father wrote him at school: "Egotism is your ruling passion." He was a poet, frustrated and weeping when publisher after publisher refused his "Book of Love I" and "Book of Love II". Though he pretended to champion his proletarian masses — he called them "rabble . . . asses . . . of no importance whatsoever" — he married high-born Jenny von Westphalen, who bore him several children in the most abject poverty. He outlived them all excepting two daughters who later committed suicide.

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DR. KARL MARX — he won his Ph.D at 23 — substituted the State for God, openly embracing such Hegelian ideas as "the State is its own highest purpose . . . the embodiment of the moral idea" and "individual interest is only justified when it derives from the common interest of the State." To Marx, religions were nothing but metaphysical fanfares, "opiates of the people". He excoriated those who even mentioned morality. Thus he came easily to the pragmatism — that the end justifies the means.

The land-hungry who are still dazzled by "agrarian reform", for example, should ponder Marx's cynicism on that subject. He reasoned that the division of land among the peasants might be considered "initially" in some countries as an effective Communist platform. But the "ultimate aim of the movement" is not to generate small farmers but, just the opposite, to expropriate those who already exist. (Let it be noted it was these very "agrarian reformers" who charmed General Marshall on his mission to China, and got him to insist that Chiang accept them in a coalition government. It is these very "agrarian reformers" with whom we prepare to do questionable business at Geneva.)

Marx's growing reputation as a revolutionary early produced concern among legitimate politicians. Expelled from Germany, he went to France. Expelled from France, he went to Belgium. Expelled from Belgium, he went back to France and Germany to participate in the revolutions of 1848. Again expelled from France and Germany, Marx fled to England where he finished his life as a self-styled "economist", a foreign correspondent for Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* and, always, a *sub rosa* international politician.

Despite his reputation as an economist, Marx subordinated his economics to politics and his politics to the crassest expediency. Amid all the subordination, truth suffered mightily. While he preached that Communists "disdain to conceal their views and aims", he practiced every device of concealment and continually hid behind puppets and front groups. Time has shown up such Marxian errors as: "abolish slavery and you have wiped America off the map of nations"; "Lincoln's acts appear to me like mean and pettifogging tricks used by one lawyer against the other"; and "in the moment the forcible union between England and Ireland would come to an end, social revolution would break out in Ireland".

History has overrun every major Marxian thesis. The giant monolithic state of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics refutes his "law" that under socialism the State would "wither away", that the dictatorship of the proletariat would be "temporary". The Soviets' more rigid class distinctions and wider income disparities than any in the West make a mockery of Marx's promised "free and equal . . . classless society" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need".

The very heart of *Das Kapital,* the doctrines of "increasing misery" and "capitalist doom coming on the wave of the future", ring hollow. The experience of every capitalist country proves the falsity of the Marxian pronouncement that "the general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise, but to lower, the standard of living". Marx's animosity toward the machines of capital could only bring smiles to gadget-minded American housewives, let alone equipment-minded American businessmen. Marx claimed: "No improvement of machinery, no appliance of science to production, no contrivances of transportation, no opening of markets will do away with the misery of the industrious masses." And again: "If machinery be the most powerful means for shortening the

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working time, it becomes in the hands of capital the most powerful means for lengthening the working day beyond all bounds."

As for the "inexorability" of the collapse of capitalism, Marx and Engels rubbed their hands in glee at the depressions of 1847, 1858, and 1873 — but in vain. Each time capitalism shrugged off temporary stagnation and climbed to greater heights. Disciple Lenin became embarrassed, could the Master be wrong? World War I flashed an answer. But, of course, the Marxians had a retort: The capitalist nations staved off collapse by foreign exploitation, by feeding on each other's carcasses or those of backward territories euphemistically called "colonies". During his Swiss exile, Lenin embodied the thesis in a clumsy apologia for his Teacher, a book entitled *Imperialism, the Highest State of Capitalism* (Zurich, 1917). Then Lenin, aided by the German High Command, struck at Russia.

THE SUPREME IRONY of this Marx Story is that, as we combat Communism, we employ the means of Communism. In short, we evolve into the very image of the enemy we oppose. We fall for the snags that Marx detailed in the *Communist Manifesto* to trip us into Communism. True, Marx called for "a violent overthrow" but he did not eschew "winning the battle of democracy". From the *Manifesto*:

> We have seen that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class; to win the battle of democracy. The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, *by degrees,* all capital from the bourgeoisie; to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State. . . . Of course, in the beginning this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property and on the conditions of bourgeois production. . . . These measures will, of course, be different in different countries. Nevertheless in the most advanced countries the following will be generally applicable:
>
> 1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
> 2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
> 3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
> 4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
> 5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
> 6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
> 7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
> 8. Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
> 9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of population over the country.
> 10. Free education for all children in public schools. . . .

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In nearly all of these devices to ensnare us, the United States has sometimes fully, sometimes partially, followed the Marxian strategy. The Federal government now owns 24 per cent of all the land in the continental U.S., and its holdings are steadily increasing. The Sixteenth Amendment provided the "heavy progressive or graduated income tax". The supposedly "independent" Federal Reserve System provides the practical "centralization of credit" as the government monetizes its debt and inflates its currency. (Lenin: "The surest way to bring collapse to the capitalist countries is through the debauchery of their currencies.") Our present High Commissioner to Germany, James B. Conant, when President of Harvard, bluntly advocated the abolition of private schools. And so on. (For fuller discussion, see *To Communism . . . via Majority Vote,* a brilliant pamphlet by Admiral Ben Moreell, Jones and Laughlin head, distributed by the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.)

Earl Browder, former leader of the American Communist Party, published his own pamphlet in 1950 called *Keynes, Foster and Marx; State Capitalism and Progress.* In it, Browder lists 22 specific present U.S. policies making "socialism inevitable". These include guaranteed mortgages, public housing, social security, foreign loans, etc. He states: "They have the single feature in common that they are in the main particular aspects of the tendency to concentrate in the hands of the State the guiding reins of the national economy — i.e., they express the growth of state capitalism . . . an essential feature of the confirmation of the Marxist theory."

THE LATE LORD KEYNES, so influential in the American New Deal and in the British Labor Party, was an inadvertent disciple of Marx. He too railed against capitalism. In the *Yale Review,* Keynes wrote: "The decadent international but individualistic capitalism, in the hands of which we found ourselves after the war is not a success. It is not intelligent, it is not beautiful, it is not just, it is not virtuous — and it doesn't deliver the goods. In short we dislike it, and we are beginning to despise it. But when we wonder what to put in its place, we are extremely perplexed."

Like Marx, Keynes called for centralized credit controls to manipulate the economy. Keynes even advocated the "euthanasia of the rentiers" — i.e., the capitalists. Keynes made a profound effect on almost all American economists, a development which has been described as "the Keynesian Revolution" or the "New Economics". His ideas permeate most of the economics text books used in our colleges. One cannot help but wonder if the Keynesian Revolution is but a variation of a Marxian revolution.

No matter how awkward and illogical are the Marxian theory and its academic and government derivatives, the Marxian myth, carefully nurtured by Moscow's Marx-Engels Institute, marches on in every land, capturing more prisoners than Genghis Khan. Thus, as our diplomatic mission prepares for Geneva, the famous opening line of the *Communist Manifesto* — "A specter is haunting Europe: the specter of Communism" — takes on added significance. The "specter" now encompasses the globe.

History has unfortunately confirmed Engels' eulogy at the burial of Karl Marx in London's Highgate Cemetery in 1883: "Soon the world will feel the void left by the passing of this Titan. . . . His name and his work will live for centuries to come."

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HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* FRANK CHODOROV, *Associate Editor*

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Conflict Behind the Conflict: The rapid and confusing charges and counter-charges (confusingly reported) of the McCarthy affair must prompt persons to seek a pattern which could explain the alarums and excursions which mark this historic event.

In Washington, those who know the Capital scene perceive a pattern and say that it is one of forces, not of personalities. Thus, neither Stevens nor McCarthy actually looms as important as the forces arrayed behind them. Stevens may soon be out of office anyway and there is more than a suspicion that the Administration wanted to jettison him even before he collided with McCarthy (in order to give his post to some other figure more favored by the White House).

But behind Stevens stands the bureaucracy which many here deem to be the controlling factor in the Eisenhower Administration. Overwhelmingly staffed by New Dealers, entrenched by reason of civil service regulations, it impudently but inexorably has shaped the original conservative Administration and the Secretaries into its image (there are some exceptions but broadly this is true). The protagonists in this struggle are not the top figures in Government, but bureaucrats like Stevens' assistant John Adams, whom McCarthy charged with "blackmail". It has been pointed out that Adams was a Truman appointee.

The fight started when McCarthy touched a sensitive nerve, the Army branch of the bureaucracy where the left-of-center Anna Rosenberg during her term as War Manpower Administrator left her mark. Many here believe that the Army bureaucracy (not Stevens and the generals) has much to conceal since the fury to conceal is so obviously great.

The Legislative branch of government has become the field of battle instead of the protagonist for the people against the Executive. If the latter had been the case, the Senators would have rallied behind McCarthy in his clash with the Army and pushed the probe of the matter so evidently being concealed. But jealousy of McCarthy's prominence, plus confusion about the affair in the constituencies has given the drama a different turn — namely, the investigation by McCarthy's own committee of McCarthy himself as well as Stevens and Adams. A curious picture, indeed.

How has this confusion in the public mind, occurred, or been brought about? It is caused largely by the well-orchestrated choir of "liberals" in press and radio (as described in our article "Right Wing Papers Need Right Wing Writers", last week). Mr. Fulton Lewis, radio commentator, has lifted the curtain on the subterranean collaboration between the bureaucracy and the "liberals" in the press. He says that "columnist Joseph Alsop is reported to have had in his possession 10 days before it was leaked generally, a copy of the Army's 34-page memorandum accusing McCarthy and his investigating committee counsel Roy Cohn of using improper pressure to force an easy Army life for C. David Schine". Alsop has been a left-of-center columnist, largely supporting the Truman policies. Thus a bureaucracy still faithful to Truman ideas plus a Trumanite group in the press and radio (in some cases sponsored by right-wing publishers) have been able to stop a vital investigation of Communists in the Army and to smear one of the Republican Party's most important political figures.

Press: This sad situation in the media of public information and comment is illuminated by the surprising sale of a newspaper in Washington, D. C. Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune* and the Washington *Times-Herald* last week sold the latter paper to Mr. Eugene Meyer, owner of the *Washington Post*, a New Deal Republican paper (often referred to by McCarthy as "the Wash-

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ington *Daily Worker*"). Since both are morning papers, and there is no other, this gives the *Post* a monopoly in the morning field. About a million people in the Washington metropolitan area (including suburbs in Virginia and Maryland) are now deprived of "the other side" of the McCarthy story (since the two evening papers are anti-McCarthy).

Furthermore, those in the publication field (unlike the general public) know full well how much the local Washington newspapers influence legislators on Capitol Hill. Conservative members of Congress have lost an important source of assistance in their forensic battles. Indeed, newspaper people here believe that the type of news which will go out all over the country from the Capital will now be more heavily weighted on the side of the Democratic and New Deal Republicans.

To create a new newspaper palatable to conservatives here would cost about $15 million, no small sum in these days. It is known that plans for such are being discussed, although professionals in the business remain dubious that anything can be done. Meanwhile, the conservative cause has received a veritable body blow.

Recession: Those in Washington who know and have a healthy suspicion of the machinery of Big Government preserve doubts that we are in a recession of any great significance. And they question the possibility of what has been called a "slide" in the economy.

This suspicion prevails despite official figures showing decline in steel production, rise in unemployment totals, etc. A strenuous argument continues, based on such indices, but so far it seems indecisive. Those who squint skeptically at all this economic data have something else in mind.

They realize that many of the reports and analyses appearing in the press on the "recession" come from those who, though honest in their appraisal nevertheless rest their judgment on data obtained from bureaucrats. It is an old story that the bureaucracy — largely New Deal in character — is principally interested in maintaining its power. Some of the New Dealers reflect the Democratic Party view that a deep recession is here and will get worse, with the consequent need for big public spending, subsidies, controls, etc. It is also an old story that reporters have unfortunately come to swallow uncritically what the bureaucrats tell them. . . .

MacArthur's Visit: Wags in this town are saying: "Ike had himself photographed with MacArthur", referring to the wire service photos of the two which were widely featured in the press last week. While the visit of the famous General was motivated by highly important military considerations, the posing of the two great public figures is supposed — by some observers here — to have resulted from the desire of the White House clique to capitalize on MacArthur's prestige among conservatives in the GOP. While these White House staff people are left-of-center, and despise the conservatives in the Republican party, they are well aware that the conservatives are now very disgruntled with the "New Deal Look" of the Eisenhower Administration. Hence, a news photo of Ike and Mac might serve to allay somewhat this discontent.

It is said that in the discussions the General was as lucid and brilliant as ever. But observers were saddened to note that physically he seems to have aged considerably since he was last in Washington.

Not Merely Gossip: The group set up to investigate the row between the Army and the Wisconsin Senator is regarded here as "rigged" to "do a job on Joe", and to prepare for permanent muzzling of the battling Senator. The "line" of the New Dealers — Republican and Democratic — is now being fed into the press, as follows: Congress must establish one joint congressional committee authorized with sole power to look into Communism.

● Senator Everett Dirksen (Rep., Ill.) who is a member of the above mentioned group has shown himself singularly uncooperative with McCarthy. According to those who hear the talk among senatorial assistants, the Illinois Senator is beginning to hear from home about this; his constituents aren't pleased.

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● A correspondent, recently arrived from London, tells us that in the British capital the furor over "McCarthyism" is simply a form of concealment for "anti-Americanism". Further, our friend is convinced that the British Government encourages anti-McCarthy talk among the journalists who go to the Government press attachés for news.

Small Favors Gratefully Received: The 900-page tax bill passed last week by the House is now kicking around in the Senate, where the Democrats are trying to make political capital out of it. Their strategy is to push for an increase of the personal income tax exemption from $600 to $700. Whether they succeed or not is unimportant to them; in either case they will be able to pose before the electorate as "friends of the poor", and label the GOP as the party of the "rich".

Any reduction of taxes, no matter what segment of society is immediately benefited, is a boon for the nation as a whole. For the tax-savings eventually enter into the stream of the economy, whether by spending or by investment. Production is stimulated and everybody profits. Therefore, while it is natural for those who get less relief than others to raise the cry of favoritism, and for those who obtain any cuts to be elated, there should be general rejoicing whenever the government eases its grip on the purse of any citizen or group of citizens. Whoever benefits — hallelujah!

As it now stands, the bill means a saving to the entire citizenry of about a billion dollars. For this small favor, much thanks. This is the first cut in our steadily rising tax bill since Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon tried to put some sense in our fiscal policy, about thirty years ago. May it portend more relief!

L'Affaire Murrow: Some men are known by the company they keep and some companies may be known by the men they keep. Many patriotic Americans await with interest to see what the Aluminum Company of America, one of the nation's greatest industrial corporations, and the Columbia Broadcasting Company, one of the nation's great radio and television networks, will do about the case of Edward R. Murrow. Murrow is Vice President of CBS and the commentator on the program "See It Now" commercially sponsored by the Aluminum Company, which the *Daily Worker* has highly praised.

On March 12 over the air, Senator McCarthy stated that Murrow in 1935 was on an Advisory Council of Moscow University in Russia which taught "the violent overthrow of the traditional order". Murrow countered by saying that he had been on the Council for the summer of '35 but in that year the Russian University held no sessions — that the American teachers signed up for the session then travelled in Russia. He also said that he did not accompany "this group of distinguished educators". Now who were some of Murrow's colleagues in this interesting venture? Westbrook Pegler says that they included Robert M. Hutchins (who has never been exactly severe on Communists), Stephen Duggan (father of the Lawrence Duggan who jumped from a window to his death) and Professor George Counts of Columbia University.

A little background on Counts is important to note. In 1932 Counts wrote a book in which he told his readers in substance that capitalism was washed up in America. The whole work is a frank plea for a socialist state here; and to bring such a state about Counts urged that it must be done through our schools, that our teachers should reach for power and then make the most of their conquest.

Following his book, Counts and a group of other teachers obtained a grant of $300,000 from the Carnegie Foundation to study the teaching of the social sciences in American schools. It is on the social sciences, of course, that the pinks concentrate their efforts. The Counts group filled 17 volumes, the last volume of which declared that the age of individualism is closing and a new age of collectivism is emerging — and proposed that our teachers go to work on the minds of their pupils to prepare them for the new collectivist society. Harold Laski, the British Socialist hailed this study as follows: "Stripped of its carefully neutral phrases it is an educational plan for a socialist America."

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Pegler further reveals that in 1933 and 1934, Murrow was listed on the Advisory Council for summer sessions of Moscow University and that in those years seminars were held — the sessions in '35 having been cancelled because "the Hearst papers exposed the plot". If Pegler is right, Murrow's reply to McCarthy was to say the least, evasive. What has ALCOA to say of their man?

Italian Films: For some time now we have been viewing with increasing suspicion certain films made in Italy and exported to the U.S. We focused our attention on the Italian film industry after Rossellini, a radical moving picture director, seemed to take delight in boasting of his adultery with Ingrid Bergman. Looseness in sex is a cardinal principle of the Bohemian left. Since then we have had mounting misgivings that behind certain Italian films was the hand of Marxists who were doing their bit for the cause.

In the *Daily Worker* for March 22 we read a confirmation of all our apprehensions. The Communist organ becomes actually ecstatic about the Italian film "Stranger On the Prowl" starring Paul Muni — calls it "one of the best (pictures) around". According to the *Worker* the film depicts poor children "standing wistfully at the circus gate while two wealthy boys sneeringly pass them by on their way in"; a young maid "being forced to the point of surrender by her slimy employer who has a minor theft to hold over her head"; Muni killing the proprietress of a food store to keep her from calling the police after he appropriates a piece of cheese. Here is Marxianism in the raw — caricaturing the rich, gloating over human misery, and explaining life in terms of brutal employers and venal shopkeepers. Little wonder that the *Daily Worker* says that the film is "a devastating indictment of the social order in Italy today".

Paul Muni's record, however, clinches the matter. Evidence in the public files of the House Un-American Activities Committee suggests that Muni had a penchant for Communist front organizations.

Book Note: The advance sale of *McCarthy and His Enemies* by William F. Buckley, Jr., has proved phenomenal, according to the publishers, Henry Regnery Company (20 W. Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.). Hopes are expressed that the book will sell in the neighborhood of 50,000. Buckley's only other book *God and Man at Yale*, 1951, sold over 25,000 copies and stuck to the best-seller lists for many weeks. The new work is a cruel but just dissection of the anti-McCarthyites and their arguments. It will be published on March 30 at all bookstores. Price $5.00. HUMAN EVENTS has engaged John Chamberlain, former editor of *The Freeman*, to review it in an early number.

Correction: We wish to correct an inaccuracy in our news item "TV Front" in our issue of March 3. The praise of the "You Are There" program appeared in the *Daily Worker* for February 28, page 8, not in the February 26 *Worker* as printed. Incidentally, as we checked the Communist sheet for February 19, we noted on page 7 a box "Tonight's Best Bets on Radio, TV" in which was listed "Person to Person — Ed Murrow (2) 10:30".

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